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WOLF AND TWO-POINTED BUCK: A LOWER KUTENAI TALE OF THE SUPERNATURAL PERIOD ¹

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ACCORDING to the cosmological beliefs of the Kutenai Indians, an Intermontane people of the region now comprising adjacent parts of Idaho, Montana and British Columbia, mankind was preceded on earth by a different group of beings, the supernatural spirits or *nupí'ka*.² These earlier occupants of

¹ This myth was collected among the Bonners Ferry (Idaho) Kutenai during the course of ethnological field work in 1947. The investigation was supported by the University of Pennsylvania. I am indebted to that institution and to Dr. Frank G. Speck for making the opportunity available. My informant was Simon Francis, aged 57. Both he and his mother, Lucy, were born at Bonners Ferry, while his father, Francis, came from the Tobacco Plains group. The latter took his life, while Simon was an infant, by eating the root of the "wild parsnip" (*namla'ssuk*). His mother remarried. Simon's failure to acquire a supernatural guardian as a child brought harsh treatment from his stepfather. To escape this, he ran away to school at St. Eugene's Mission, Cranbrook, B. C., where he spent part of two years. The brief education thus gained enabled Simon in later life to fill, successively, the posts of interpreter, police officer and councilman at Bonners Ferry. His knowledge of Kutenai culture was obtained largely from his mother and one of the local second chiefs.

² In the transcription of native words, typographical limitations have

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the "world island" were invisible and powerful entities, able to transform themselves at will into human or animal form. In their faunal guise, the nupí'ka were endowed with human attributes which enabled them to live together in family and band groups. Certain individuals of this quasi-human society were related to one another by ties of marriage or descent.³ Others were cast merely as friends or enemies. The deeds and ventures of these spirit beings provide the content of Kutenai oral literature of the mythical period (aqalkanahoa'tel).⁴

From the creation of the world, the Kutenai believe, the Supreme Being (kwí'lka nupí'ka) had decreed that some day mankind (aqlsama'kinik) would come on earth. The spiritual powers, unaware of when or how this would happen, realized that eventually they would be displaced by human beings. While loath to leave their accustomed and happy life, most of the nupí'ka willingly accepted their lot. As time went on, they began to prepare the way for mankind's arrival. Ya.uke'kam, a legendary hero, thus devised weapons for human use and destroyed those monsters that would be dangerous to people. The kindly giant, Nalmu'ktsin, left his home near Kootenai Lake to give names to the various places along the Kootenai River, where

dictated certain alterations in the standard orthography employed by Americanists. Thus the letter *i* is substituted for the sound customarily represented by the Greek *iota*, *ā* for the *alpha*, and the dieresis employed to indicate short, weak vowels, very slightly voiced. The letter *l* is used, except in the case of the Delaware word *pele'o*, for the voiceless lateral spirant. In the Delaware word *pukowa'ngo*, the letter *n* represents the nasal sonant in mid-palatal position; while in the word *tu'kcwsi.t*, the letters *cw* have been lowered from the superior position to the line.

³ The systematic development of animal society mentioned by the late Franz Boas as characteristic of Kutenai mythology is referable to the supernatural period (*Kutenai Tales*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 59, Washington, 1918, p. 281). In this same collection (pp. 224 ss.), he has included an abbreviated text version of the above myth.

⁴ Lowie, in a study of historical relationships between North and South American cultures, notes the occurrence of the concept of a truly mythical period subsequently transformed into the present world, among the Fuegians, Californians, and the Nez Perce (Robert H. Lowie, "American Culture History," *American Anthropologist*, 42, Menasha, 1940, p. 422).

people would later make their homes. When the appointed day arrived, the nupí'ka held a council to decide where each would live and how he would help mankind through his supernatural power. Scarcely had the last spirit spoken and assumed his animal form to vanish in the forest, when the first humans were seen approaching in a canoe. Thus the supernatural period was brought to a close by the arrival of mankind.

Some knowledge of these mythical beings and of the tales concerning them is a necessary preliminary to an understanding of Kutenai culture and history. Thus the origin of many of their cultural properties is assigned by the modern Kutenai to the spirits of the pre-human period. The Lower Kutenai of Bonners Ferry, Idaho, trace back to supernatural sources, for example, certain of their footwear types. A brief word may be inserted here on the varying importance, seasonally, of footgear in this region. During the summer months the Lower Kutenai tended to dispense with moccasins, owing to the nature of their economic activities and the unusual condition of the terrain. The Kootenai River, swollen by melting snow in the high Rockies, overflowed its banks in May or June to inundate most of the valley floor. The many lakes thus formed were connected by sloughs with the main river. This network of waterways not only attracted numerous species of wildfowl, but confined aquatic and land forms of life to relatively narrow channels. The natural food resources now made available were exploited in appropriate ways by the barefooted Indians from canoes or on foot. Moccasins, accordingly, were reserved for use on ceremonial occasions or for hunting excursions into the forested foothills.

Of the several varieties of moccasins made by the Lower Kutenai, two were used generally for summer ceremonial wear. One of these was of single piece construction, with side seam (kokínalā'ktcu, "seam on side"); the other a two piece, u-seamed type (kwí'lqāne, "big face," from the large, puckered insert). Both types⁵ were fashioned from tanned deerskin and decorated

⁵ The two varieties of moccasins described above correspond to Nos. 3230 and 3232, respectively, of Verne F. Ray's classification in his study, *Culture Element Distribution: XXII Plateau* (University of California

with beads or quillwork. The shape and appearance of these respective types were such as to suggest to the Kutenai certain correspondences in the realm of animal life. The form of the one piece moccasin was thought to resemble a half-segment of the foot of the "hooved group" (*katsq'alu'ptak*) of animals, represented in this case by the deer. The rounded insert of the two piece type, on the other hand, brought to mind the foot of the "pawed group" (*kai'ākak*) of animals, exemplified here by the wolf. These analogies are in harmony, of course, with the dual classification in this culture of the quadrupeds on the basis of foot structure.⁶ And the emphasis placed upon pedal characteristics to the apparent exclusion of other physical features is not inconsistent with the outlook and interests of a northern forest people like the Kutenai, who depended extensively for winter subsistence upon game tracked over snow-covered country.

Concepts of faunal classification analogous to those described for the Kutenai, however, have been reported in a socio-political context among certain Algonkian tribes in the east. The three zoonymic septes of the Delaware Indians were known by the terms *pele'o* ("scratcher"), *tu'kcwsi't* ("sticky heels") and *pukowa'ngo* ("round paw"). Although these names are usually translated Turkey, Tortoise and Wolf, respectively, Speck has pointed out that they are generic in character.⁷ As such they

Anthropological Records 8:2, Berkeley, 1942), pp. 167-8, and under the section *Figures* at the end. Still a third type was employed by the Lower Kutenai for summer use, the two piece variant with u-shaped insert and toe seam, called *qu'ā'kine*, "face" (Ray's No. 3237). For winter, a two piece type with v-shaped insert and mid-seam, corresponding nearly to Ray's No. 3234, was utilized. This second variety was known as *koatalā'ktcu*, "seam over," from the fact that the seam extended down and underneath the toe. The material was elk or caribou hide, arranged with the hair inside. All of these types, with the exception of the one piece, could be made of small scraps of hide, a factor of no little importance in Kutenai economy.

⁶ Kutenai taxonomy divided the remainder of the faunal world into the aerial (*kanqo'wa tuq'tsqamna*, "feathered beings") and the aquatic (*kia'kro tuq'tsqamna*, "fish beings") groups.

⁷ *A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony* (Pennsylvania Historical Commission Publications II, Harrisburg, 1931), pp. 75; 99, fn. 3.

refer to 1) birds belonging to the *Gallinae*, the fowls or scratchers, 2) reptilians of the Tortoise (*Testudinata*) group, the name being derived from the habit of slowly lifting the feet when walking, and 3) the quadrupeds. Similarly, certain name groups among the Shawnee bear terms translatable as the Round-feet division, representing carnivorous animals, like the wolf and dog, whose paws are ball-shaped, and the Raccoon division, representing animals having feet that can scratch, like the raccoon and bear.⁸ It appears then that the taxonomic systems of both the Kutenai and the Delaware-Shawnee are based, in part, upon concepts referring to faunal organs of locomotion. Related classificatory schemes have not turned up as yet, to the writer's knowledge, among tribes in intervening areas. These lacunae and the immense distances separating the noted occurrences, render any conclusions as to the possibility of genetic connection highly speculative, despite the unusual orientation of the respective systems. Until more specific data on the topic are forthcoming from the Plains and Central Woodlands, the question of relationship must remain an open one.

In any case, the imaginative appeal of these footwear types and the particular animals associated with them led an unknown but gifted author-raconteur among the Lower Kutenai to figure both in a tale of dramatic interest. In the story of Wolf and Two-pointed Buck, Young Doe is cast as the supernatural character who invents the one piece moccasin for the Deer people. Wolf admires the new footwear and marries Doe in order to obtain a pair. Doe, a skilled seamstress, realizes that the moccasins of the Deer people are unsuitable for Wolf and designs a new type that will fit him properly. Wolf's vanity is deeply wounded, however, by an innocent remark of Doe, and he and his brothers seek vengeance by attacking the Deer. In the end, all of the Deer are killed, except Buck and his family, and Buck escapes only at the cost of Wolf's life. Thereafter, the Wolves take on the predatory habits that have characterized their behaviour

⁸ C. F. and E. W. Voegelin, "Shawnee Name Groups" (*American Anthropologist* 37, 4, Menasha, 1935), p. 617.

down to the present day, while the Deer, in turn, become their accustomed prey.

The above course of mythical events, effecting as it did such tragic consequences for the supernatural characters concerned, also carried implications of ethical value for the Kutenai. To the narrator of the tale and his audience, the theme of bloodshed and death served to recall the tensions that arise between affinally-related groups and the possibility of their release through intra-family aggression. The repeated references to the brother-in-law relationship of Wolf and Buck, and the several attempts of Bullhead to compose their differences, reflect, it would seem, the emphasis placed by Kutenai society upon in-group amity and concord. The extent to which this social ideal was realized is unknown, as data on the incidence of violence among affinally-connected groups are, unfortunately, not available. In any case, the tale of Buck and Wolf was traditionally related to older children among the Kutenai in order, it was said, to instill respect and tolerance for their future affinal associates.

Another cultural innovation traced by the Kutenai to supernatural antecedents in this connection is represented by the song rites for weather change (klukīha'luk, "singing for snow"). According to Kutenai belief, the ritual for weather change was performed for the first time by Wolf in order to impede the flight of the Deer. What was said to be a similar performance was held by the Lower Kutenai, either separately or in conjunction with their midwinter game-calling ceremony, as recently as the middle of last century. The game-calling rites, as described by Harry Turney-High,⁹ were designed to bring back into Kutenai territory the deer enticed away through the magical powers of alien shamans. If the ground happened to be snow-free at this season, the songs of Wolf were sung to bring snow and then crust its surface, so that deer hunting would be facilitated. Dr. John M. Cooper¹⁰ has recently pointed out that it is during similar

⁹ *Ethnography of the Kutenai* (American Anthropological Association Memoir 56, Menasha, 1941), pp. 186-7.

¹⁰ "The Culture of the Northeastern Indian Hunters: A Reconstructive Interpretation" in *Man in Northeastern America*, edited by Frederick

physical conditions in late winter and early spring that the Northeastern Indians can best pursue and bring down large game, and he refers to the many magical and irrational ways that these Indians employ to bring the north wind to crust the snow. Further investigation may show that the weather changing rites of the Kutenai constitute the local development of an old and widespread trait of the Northern hunting complex.

Bullhead (k'i'k'om),¹¹ the character who essays the part of intermediary in the struggle between Wolf and Buck, represents one of the more important beings in the Kutenai religious hierarchy. He functions in the divinatory practices¹² of this group

Johnson (Papers of the Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archaeology 3, Andover, 1946), pp. 286, 288.

¹¹ The Rocky Mountain bullhead or sculpin (*Cottus punctulatus* [Gill]). See Leonard P. Schultz, "Fishes of Glacier National Park, Montana" (U. S. National Park Service Conservation Bulletin 22, Washington, 1941), pp. 35-37. According to the Kutenai, the bullhead is absent from the deep water of the lower Kootenai River but does occur in its shallow, rocky tributaries, such as the Moyie, Yaak and St. Mary. It is not considered edible.

¹² See Turney-High, op. cit., pp. 174-177; Verne F. Ray, "The Conjuring Complex in the Plateau and the Plains" (Sapir Memorial Volume, Menasha, 1941, pp. 204-216), pp. 207 *et seq.* Data obtained by Ray on the Kutenai rites and discussed in his excellent comparative study of the Plateau and Plains conjuring complexes, appear inadequate in several respects. He notes the occurrence in the related Colville ceremony of a spiritual intermediary, a certain fish(?), which he compares in importance to the Owl Spirit among the Kutenai. Further, he assigns the role of intermediary among the latter not to one of the supernaturals but to the conjuror himself. It is questionable whether the Owl Spirit, or more correctly in this case, Owl Spirits, represent the most important supernaturals in the Kutenai seance, merely because they transport the conjuror from the lodge and return with him at the conclusion of the performance. Red-headed Woodpecker (*yama'kpal*) serves an equally important but still minor role as the conjuror's spirit protector during his flight from the lodge. Moreover, it is difficult from the standpoint of Kutenai religious conceptuality to see how the conjuror can be present during the rite as intermediary and yet be transported from one hazardous place to another about the country by his winged familiars during his presumed absence from the lodge. On the basis of this and other relevant facts, the role of intermediary can scarcely be denied to Bullhead. A reexamination of the

much as do Mikinak and Mistabeo in the corresponding rites of the Central and Eastern Algonkians, respectively.¹³ In the conjuring performance Bullhead acts as messenger to the other supernaturals and as intermediary between them and their human suppliants. If misfortune is predicted for a Kutenai by one of the conjuror's spirits, the former may request Bullhead to intercede in his behalf. Bullhead then leaves the conjuring lodge to discuss the matter with the supernatural in question, and often returns with a more favorable decision. K'i'k'om also receives many petitions in the seance because of his ability in interpreting the language of the spirits. In addition, he often foretells the arrival of visitors, relates happenings that occur among other bands and, in the Kutenai phrase, generally acts as "newsboy." Bullhead, in appearance, is said to resemble a dwarfish, old man, with a protruding stomach. The Kutenai give him the honorific title of "Grandfather" or "Old Man." His clothing is described as made of fawnskin and each of his mittens made of the hides of two yearling deer. He always arrives for the conjuring rites, according to the informant, in a canoe, as he dislikes to walk very far on land. Sometimes, during the seance, he will jokingly ask some young person in the audience to go down to the stream and bring back his canoe, which turns out to be no longer than a match stick.

WOLF AND TWO-POINTED BUCK

There was a time long ago when the Whitetail Deer people had their home on a hill some distance west of Yaak River. Their neighbors were the three Wolf brothers, who lived farther south along the Kootenai River. The Deer people wore attractive, well made moccasins, which had been designed and made for them by

data on the Kutenai (and Colville) conjuring ceremonies should be undertaken before their relationships to the Plains complex can be determined.

¹³ John M. Cooper, "The Shaking Tent Rite Among Plains and Forest Algonquians" (*Primitive Man*, XVII, 3-4, pp. 60-84, Washington, 1944), pp. 79-80; A. Irving Hallowell, *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society* (Publications Philadelphia Anthropological Society II, Philadelphia, 1942), p. 46.

Young Doe (niloquatna'na). One day the second oldest Wolf (ka'ken), who had long admired the Deer's footwear, decided that he must have a pair. So he went to live with Young Doe.

The season arrived for making new footwear. Doe prepared to make moccasins for her relatives. She asked her husband, Wolf, if he would not like a pair. Wolf feigned indifference and replied merely that he would accept them. Secretly, he hoped to receive a pair like those of the Deer people. Doe, who was a skilled worker, realized that the one piece type of moccasin (kokinala'kteu) would not fit Wolf. His foot was shaped differently and hence difficult to fit. She studied the matter for a long time. Finally, she cut the material round to fit his paw, and thus devised a new type, the kwil'lane or two piece moccasin, with u-shaped seam.

Doe gave the new moccasins to her husband. Wolf disliked their appearance immediately and refused to try them on. He told Doe bluntly that he had married her because of her skill in sewing, and demanded why she had made his moccasins so clumsy looking. Doe, realizing his disappointment, determined to tell the truth. She explained that the new moccasins were designed for the "pawed group" of animals. That each one of that group, as well as mankind later, would alter the toe of the moccasin to fit a long or short foot. That these new things had to be made properly, so that the humans could make use of them. Wolf retorted angrily that he was not interested in preparing the way for mankind. He again insisted that the moccasins were too large and clumsy. Doe was sure that they would fit properly and urged Wolf to try them on. Upon his refusal, she explained that he could not wear the moccasins of the Deer people, as his paws were blunt. At this remark, Wolf exploded, "So my paw is ugly. We'll see about that." Throwing the moccasins aside, Wolf seized his bow and arrows and left the lodge.

Arriving home, Wolf told his brothers that the Deer people had ridiculed them. Doe, he explained, had told him that his foot was ugly and had made his moccasins large and clumsy. Now the Wolves must remove the Deer people from the face of

the earth, so that none of their gifts would be left for mankind. Preparations, Wolf said, would start that night.

When evening came, Wolf started to sing. His brothers joined him. Soon it began to snow. Wolf explained the purpose of the song. "We'll allow them no time. We'll work hard and have everything ready by daybreak. The Deer people think that they are smart, but someone else is smarter. We'll pull them down and even eat their flesh. To do this, we must sing for three different kinds of weather. We'll continue the present song until there is plenty of snow. Then we'll change the songs to bring other kinds of weather." Turning to one of his brothers, he said, "You're the oldest Wolf (*akīnu'küi*). You must watch. We'll make the snow so deep that it will bury the Deer. Go outside and run about. When you think it is deep enough, come back and tell me." The eldest Wolf went out several times to measure the depth of the snow. When it came up to his neck, he returned, saying enough had fallen. Since he was heavier and slower than his brothers, he selfishly allowed more snow to fall than was needed. In this way he was assured of getting his share of the kill.

Wolf now began to sing another song. This time he announced, "This song will bring rain. Go out at intervals and tell me when it has softened the surface of the snow." His elder brother did so. As before, he allowed a greater quantity of rain to fall than was actually needed.

Long before this, Two-pointed Buck (*kiankalina'na*), the leader of the Deer people, had discovered through his supernatural power what the Wolves were doing. As soon as Wolf began his songs, Buck realized that the Deer were in mortal danger. He warned his people, "The one we have to destroy is Wolf. We must not miss him. This is a struggle to the death." He then explained what Wolf was trying to do. "When I send you out, watch the weather closely. If it begins to snow, move about so as to make runways. You know the hills and the valleys, and the best places to make your trails. You will have to work throughout the night in order to save your lives." The Deer went outdoors. Suddenly the sky, which had been clear, began

to cloud up. It started to snow. The Deer ran about to make runways, as Buck had directed. After a time, however, they became tired and went inside. Buck, realizing that they would be of no further help, sent them to bed.

Buck had a wife and small child. To find some way of saving them, he lay down upon his bed and began to use his power. Now he could hear the Wolves talking and singing. He said to his wife, Doe, "We are in desperate trouble. Don't awaken the others as they can do nothing. Wolf is furious and plans to attack us. He knows that he must kill me and won't stop until he succeeds. He has great supernatural power, against which I can do little. We must try to find some way to escape. I'll arrange a place for you and the boy to hide. I'll leave some of my power with you, so that you can raise the child. If you don't hear from me, it means that I am dead. If I succeed in killing Wolf, I'll send for you. Wait for a time, however, before you come." His wife promised to follow his instructions.

Two-pointed Buck now began his preparations. A rock lay close to his bed by the fireplace. He moved it aside to reveal a shallow depression. He thrust his power token (*teokolta'lis*)¹⁴ into the depression and withdrew it. A room shaped like the inside of a lodge appeared below. Buck next told his wife to take the child, all her robes and clothing, some coals from the fire and go down into the room. Filling a mussel shell with coals and ashes, she took her possessions and the boy into the room below. Buck replaced the rock, lay down upon his bed and through his power removed all traces of his family's hiding place. Then he made one leap through the smoke hole of the lodge to land upon the top of a distant mountain near Kootenai Falls. He stood there a moment, turned so as to face his home, and lay down beside a tree. There he awaited developments.

Wolf, meanwhile, had changed his song for the third time. Now he sang for cold weather. Again he sent his eldest brother out to observe the ice forming on top of the snow. The latter

¹⁴ The narrator identified this object with the bony excrescence located on the inside of the deer's foreleg above the first joint. It is probably referable to the splint bone or vestigial remnant of one of the metacarpals.

ran over the snow several times until he found that the surface would support his weight. As before, he delayed returning until the crust had frozen quite hard. Wolf now told his younger brother¹⁵ to stop singing. The three then set out for the Deer's home, encircled it and lay down to await daylight.

With the first light of morning, the Wolves attacked the lodge of the Deer. The latter scattered out, each taking to the cleared trail that he had made the previous night. The runways, however, were not nearly long enough and flight was difficult through the crusted snow. The Deer now realized their mistake in not following Buck's advice. The Wolves quickly sized up the situation and took advantage of it. While one pursued his quarry along the runway, the others cut across to intercept it. In this way, the Deer were pulled down, one by one, and slain by the Wolves. From his mountain top Buck watched everything that took place. He was deeply grieved over the merciless slaughter of his relatives. By the time the sun came up, all the Deer had been killed.

Wolf and his younger brother had kept close watch for Two-pointed Buck, but failed to find his body among the slain Deer. The oldest Wolf, who had succeeded in killing several Deer, was little concerned about anything now that he had something for himself. When asked if he had killed Buck, he hesitated and then said that he had. The three brothers went over to the first Deer that he had killed, and found it to be an old buck. The same thing happened, in turn, with each animal slain and finally the old Wolf admitted that he was wrong. The Wolves then examined the balance of the kill and discovered that Buck and his family had escaped. After circling around outside the area and failing to find any tracks, they knew that their chief enemy was still alive. Buck was observing all this from the distant mountain, but his chief concern now was for the safety of his family.

The Wolves proceeded to tear down the lodge of the Deer, leaving only the poles standing. They looked about the lodge interior but could find no trace of Buck. Wolf, however, refused

¹⁵ The Kutenai name for this Wolf brother could not be recalled by the informant.

to give up the search. He decided to make use of his power. Stepping over to the spot where Buck's bed had been located, he lay down and stretched out in the position customarily assumed by Buck. He examined the lodge poles, the adjacent trees and the ground but could still find no sign of his enemy. Finally, he glanced up at the junction of the lodge poles and saw there one of Buck's tracks. Through his power, Wolf now traced the course of Buck's flight to his resting place on the mountain top. At that spot their "glances locked."¹⁶ Buck, after witnessing the cruel slaughter of his people, had determined never to rest until he had killed Wolf. The latter could see in Buck's eyes that it was a struggle to the death, and his own glance dropped. "Brother-in-law or not, I'm going to kill you," Wolf thought. Buck read his thoughts.

After telling his brothers where Buck had gone, Wolf started running towards the mountain. Buck, seeing this, got up, stretched and relieved himself, and made a leap backwards towards the northeast and landed near the top of another peak. He faced directly about so as to watch towards his rear. At the same time, Wolf was running swiftly towards the first mountain. When near the top, he circled cautiously and silently so as to take Buck from behind. After picking out the spot where Buck should be, he approached it, dodging from tree to tree. When close, he rested for a few minutes before peering out. There was no one there.

Wolf walked over and saw where Buck had lain. There were no tracks there. After circling about, he was still unable to find any trace of Buck's presence. He realized now that Buck was using his supernatural power. Wolf again lay down in the usual position of Buck, worked his power and followed the latter's flight until he came up with him. Their eyes engaged briefly. Once more Wolf set out in pursuit of Buck. It was now about noon. Buck made another leap far to one side, landing this time

¹⁶ A conjuror, according to the narrator, has the power to locate and identify the person who has caused illness in a client by this method. He follows the course of the disease from the patient back to its source, where his eyes "lock" with those of the malevolent conjuror.

on a mountain top near his home. In the meantime, Wolf had run to the second peak and found Buck gone. Employing his power as before, he quickly discovered his enemy's whereabouts. This time Buck had not reversed his position, but merely turned his head to the rear. He saw Wolf and their glances held momentarily. Wolf, already on his feet to take up the pursuit, was becoming more and more angry. Again he started out after Buck.

This time Buck arose and ran quickly down the mountain side towards the Yaak River. Now he was in the vicinity of Bullhead's home, located on the east side of the river. He hastened directly to Bullhead's lodge and entered. Wolf, meanwhile, had come up to Buck's last resting place, observed him in flight, and set out in pursuit. Bullhead, aware of everything that had taken place, was prepared to aid Buck defend his life. He was seated on his bed smoking his pipe. Buck said hurriedly, "I need your help. Wolf is after me. He will soon be here." Bullhead remained silent. Buck spoke more urgently, "He wants to kill me." Bullhead smoked his pipe, t-s-ā-k! tsāk! tsāk! tsāk! tsāk! tsāk!¹⁷ Buck cried out, "He killed all my relatives." Bullhead still continued to smoke. Finally, he asked Buck, "Whose brother-in-law are you talking about?" Buck retorted, "Wolf was my brother-in-law. But would you call him that after he slaughtered my people? You must help me." Bullhead laid aside his pipe and said, "I'll help you." His bed occupied one side of the lodge and directly across the fire was another. He motioned Buck to lie down there and Buck hurriedly did so. Bullhead then placed over him the hide of a young fawn. It was scarcely large enough to cover his middle. Bullhead sat down and resumed smoking.

By this time Wolf could be heard approaching. He had followed Buck's tracks to Bullhead's lodge. Now he bolted in, expecting to find his victim there. Surprised at not seeing him, he demanded of Bullhead, "Has anyone come in here?" Bullhead

¹⁷ Simon Francis stated that Bullhead's presence behind the conjuror's blanket during the seance is made known to the audience by his peculiar manner of smoking the pipe of tobacco offered most spiritual entrants.

kept silent. Wolf then inquired about Buck. Bullhead continued to smoke his pipe. Wolf asked the third time but received no reply. Finally, Bullhead spoke, "I think you're speaking of your brother-in-law. He didn't come in here." Wolf retorted, "Yes, he did." Bullhead answered, "Perhaps your eyes have deceived you. You're seeking vengeance." (This last remark was intended as a warning, and if Wolf had heeded it, he might have saved his life. Wolf, however, was too angry to notice.) He insisted that Buck must have entered the lodge. Bullhead told him that Buck may have gone elsewhere. Wolf went out to look around. By this time Bullhead had abandoned his efforts to prevent further bloodshed. Quickly he fashioned the small figure (*tsa'tsa*) of a deer from grass, and hurled it through the wall of his lodge to a place some distance up the river. Since Wolf was being so deceitful, Bullhead knew that his plan would work.

Wolf reentered the lodge and demanded again to know where Buck was. All this time he had been unable to see him lying there on the bed. Bullhead came to the point, saying, "Have you looked along the river for his tracks?" Wolf went out again, glanced upstream and now saw what he thought was Buck standing far up the river.¹⁸ He returned to ask Bullhead if the latter would take him across the river in his canoe. Bullhead refused, and told Wolf to cross as best he could. Wolf ran out, leaped far into the river and started to swim across. Buck now jumped to his feet and looked out to see Wolf in the water. He asked Bullhead to ferry him across in his canoe. The latter temporized and continued smoking his pipe. Buck cried, "Only my wife and child are left of all my people. Take me to him in your canoe, so that I can kill him!" Without asking permission, he seized Bullhead's quiver from the lodge pole. Bullhead tried his best to dissuade him, but without success. Not wanting his weapons to be used in taking life, he forbade Buck to use any but the plain, unfeathered arrow. Then he put on his mittens, went outside and launched his canoe.

By this time Wolf had nearly reached the opposite bank. Bull-

¹⁸ A large rock in the shape of a deer is said to be still visible in the river at this place.

head, with one long and one short stroke of the paddle, brought the canoe alongside Wolf. Aware of something at his side, Wolf looked around to see Buck raise his bow and arrow. He cried, "My brother-in-law. Really, I love you. You know I love you very much." Buck retorted, "Brother-in-law, eh! Well, you are pitying yourself. You know that all my relatives have been slain. Therefore, I shall kill you." He released his arrow at close range. It penetrated Wolf's body so as to project equally on both sides, and killed him at once. Buck reached out to withdraw the arrow, but Bullhead stopped him, saying, "Leave it. It's spoiled. I don't want it after being used in this way." All this time Bullhead had been trying to restore Buck to his senses. He knew that Wolf still had two brothers living and he wanted to bring the blood feud to an end. Buck then asked, "Perhaps you will take Wolf's body. The skin may be useful. I'll give it to you." This remark indicated to Bullhead that Buck's anger continued unabated. Bullhead accepted the offer but said, "I'll not use it. It has a bad odor. That is what made Wolf mean." He thrust his paddle under Wolf's body and lifted it into the back of the canoe. He then turned the canoe around, and with one long stroke and a short one, they reached the other side and both got out. Bullhead lifted his canoe from the water and placed it upon the wooden supports. They then entered Bullhead's lodge, where Buck restored the quiver to its place. Bullhead seated himself and resumed smoking his pipe. Now he hoped to induce Buck to live with him for a while, as it was unsafe to go about in his present state of mind. After a few puffs, he said, "It's not proper for young people to travel around when they're angry. Lie down on that bed. It belongs to another person, but you may make use of it." Buck seated himself and considered what he should do. He could find no good reason to refuse Bullhead's offer. He still had certain things to do but didn't feel like leaving immediately. After a time he relaxed and stretched out on the bed.

The bed was used by two young girls, who spent most of their time dipping in the water. They were Water Ousel (*tei'tskom*)

and her companion, wi'tswits.¹⁹ After sundown, Water Ousel and her friend returned to find a handsome stranger occupying their place. They hesitated to sit down until Bullhead said, "You have someone to sleep with now. He belongs here but you have never met. I told him to sit there. So take your regular places." The girls sat down, one on each side of Buck. This indicated that they accepted him as a husband, according to Bullhead's wish. It was now fall, and Buck remained there throughout the winter. Towards the close of winter, a little girl was born to Water Ousel and Buck. Soon she was running about the lodge. The snow melted and spring came. When the grass grew tall, Buck began to long for his other wife and child.

All this time Doe and her son, Fawn, had remained where Buck had hidden them. She kept the fire going, covering it at night with ashes. The child began to wonder why the two of them were alone. One day he asked, "Are there only the two of us?" Doe had busied herself making moccasins and clothing and had now accumulated quite a store. Some of the apparel was of large size, which prompted the child to ask this question. He inquired, "Is this the only room we have?" Doe replied, "No, there is an entrance above. I can't tell you more now, as there are enemies who might hear me." Several days passed and the boy asked, "May I go outside and play?" Doe had made him a small bow and arrow and the grass figure of a deer as a target (tsa'tsa). She told him to practice with his bow and arrow. The boy tried many times but could not hit the target. Finally, an arrow struck it and the game was over. Then he would throw the figure in another direction and shoot again. In this way he soon acquired considerable skill. The room became too small for his sport and he wanted to go outside. He became bored and sat around all day. It seemed to him that there must be other people somewhere, but his mother would not answer his questions.

¹⁹ This character was described as a small brown bird which frequents mountain streams, probably to be identified as one of the resident plovers or sandpipers. Its appearance in spring was said to regularly prompt the Lower Kutenai, after peace was made with adjacent groups, to set out for salmon fishing at the Colville or Spokane trading posts.

Doe finally decided to let the child go outdoors, but warned him to keep a sharp watch for strangers and allow no one to see him. At the sound of any noise, he must quickly come inside. She explained that to leave the room, he must push the door to one side but leave a small opening, so that he could come in swiftly. Although there was no ladder, Doe told him to walk up to the opening. He went through the motions of climbing and found himself rising in the air. Next, he pressed the white spot, as instructed, and the door opened. Fawn hesitated to go out, but his mother reassured him. Peering out, he saw that no one was in sight. He pushed the rock aside and went out. The country looked green and beautiful. He rolled the rock back, leaving a small opening. One of the first things he noticed was the lodge poles still standing. He now realized that there were other people in the world. He knew that it was the remains of a lodge and felt that there must be a good reason why his mother could not answer his questions. He decided to remain watchful while playing. In throwing out his target, he found that now there was sufficient space for his game. In a short time he returned to the room below. "It's a beautiful world up there," he said. "Yes," answered his mother. "You must go out again. Soon you will become used to it." He went outdoors regularly, but came inside as soon as he heard a noise. His mother approved his watchfulness and cautioned against staying out too long.

The time arrived for Doe to tell her son more. "Someone will come for us one of these days. We are here only temporarily. The one who comes for us will explain everything. However, don't run to the first person you see, as it might not be the right one." From then on, the little fellow looked forward to seeing the person who would release them.

Meanwhile, Buck's little daughter grew rapidly, and now played outdoors. One day, her father gave her several small deer hooves strung together on a cord to play with. They made a pleasant sound when shaken. "Tie these to your belt," he said, "you will soon use them." Because she obeyed his instructions in running errands, he felt that she could be trusted to deliver a

message to his family. Buck realized that he would have to tell Doe of his second wife, and felt that he could best inform her through his daughter. By this time he had forgotten completely his desire for revenge upon the Wolf brothers. Bullhead had been aware of Buck's first wife and child, but arranged the second union in order to take his mind off his enemies. Now he was willing that Buck should return to Doe. By summer Buck could no longer endure the thought of Doe's confinement. He wanted greatly to free her and the child.

One day, Buck called his small daughter and told her the time had come for her to use the deer hoof rattles. She was instructed to cross the Yaak River and take the trail west until she came to a long hill. She was to climb this hill and continue a short distance until she reached the end of the trail. Upon arriving there, she was to look carefully about. "You may meet someone there," Buck said. "Don't let them see you. If no one appears, continue until you come to an abandoned lodge. Hide in the brush nearby and if you still see no one, come back. If you see a person who disappears quickly, return and tell me." The little girl started out carrying the string of deer hoof rattles. She followed her father's directions and found everything as he had described it. Seeing the deserted lodge structure, she approached it carefully. No one was about, however, and she returned home. Every day she was sent out to observe the old lodge. Through his power, Buck had learned that his son came out to play, and he hoped that his daughter would meet him. He instructed her to watch closely for a boy or a grown person. Hearing this, the little girl, who longed for a playmate, tried all the more to find him.

One day, coming around a turn in the trail, she saw something move. It was a good-sized boy, carrying his bow and arrow. As she quickly stepped behind a tree, he threw his target towards her. While he released his arrow, she had a good chance to observe him. The arrow lodged in the target and the boy walked over to remove it. As he approached, the girl stepped into view. Seeing her, he quickly picked up his arrow and ran towards the lodge. She called out, "Young brother, stop!" But he disap-

peared somewhere about the lodge. She walked over but could find no trace of his hiding place. It seemed very mysterious. The girl lay down and started to cry. She could not understand why her brother ran from her. After a time she returned home. Her father saw that she had been crying and asked her the reason. She told about seeing the boy and how he had run away. She began to cry again, saying she felt as if he were related to her. Buck explained that it was her brother, and that he ran away because he was not accustomed to strangers. But he assured her that they would play together sometime.

As he entered the hidden room, Fawn breathed so heavily that his mother knew that something had happened. He told her that someone had seen him for the first time, a pretty little girl, who had called him brother. He reproached his mother for never telling about a sister, adding that the latter had cried because he ran away. Doe believed that someone would come for them, but hadn't expected it to be a little girl. Now she knew that her husband still lived, had married again, and had a daughter. Further, that having sent a messenger in this way, he wanted to rejoin them. She told Fawn that it must have been his sister, but refused to answer any more questions. She instructed him to go out the next morning at the same time to talk with the little girl. Although he would have preferred a boy as a playmate, Fawn promised to do so.

The next day when he went out, Buck's daughter was already there. Before she left home, her father had said, "This is what you must do. Your brother will run and hide. Go up to the lodge poles and look for a rock beside the fireplace. Roll it aside, look down and you will see him and his mother. Untie the hooves and shake them. The sound will bring him outside. Then shake the rattle and sing, 'Come forward, kikīсна'na (Blacktail Fawn)!'²⁰ Come forward, kikīсна'na!'" Once the boy began to dance, she could hold his attention. She was to continue singing to make the boy dance towards her, and thus draw him away

²⁰ It was not clear to the informant why this term should be applied to a whitetail fawn.

from the lodge. Then she was to try to catch him before he could escape inside.

The little girl followed her father's instructions. Fawn again ran from her and disappeared around the lodge poles. She found the rock, pushed it aside, and saw the room below. There the mother was sewing and had bags, moccasins and clothing arranged about her. At her side stood the boy. The girl untied the rattles and as she shook them at the opening, he looked up. Doe was certain now that the messenger came from her husband, for the rattles represented his power.²¹ The girl started to sing. It was the same song that Buck used to sing to his son. The boy listened to the song and began to dance in time to the rattles. He wanted to reach out for them but was afraid. As the girl retreated from the opening, the boy danced towards her. He turned back several times, but the girl drew him forth again. When he was some distance from the door, she tried to catch him but he escaped to the room. Then she cried and told him that she only wanted to play with him. She returned home as her father had directed. The boy's mother refused to answer any of his questions, except to say that the girl was his sister. She urged him to play with her, as she would explain everything.

The following day, Buck sent his daughter to make a final attempt. This time he foresaw that she would be successful. He advised her to draw the boy far from his place of concealment before she tried to restrain him. He again pointed out that his son, not being used to strangers, suffered from shyness. She set out for the old lodge site. Buck then explained to Water Ousel

²¹ A novice in search of supernatural power for conjuring must continue his quest until Buck appears to him and grants the use of the rattle. He may attempt to "put up the blanket" without such power but would never be very successful. The deer-hoof rattle is an important part of a conjuror's ceremonial equipment. During the course of the seance, the spiritual beings are believed to enter, one by one, and alight upon the rattle suspended midway behind the conjuror's blanket. The sound of the vibrating hoofs thus informs the spectators of the arrival and departure of the tutelary spirits. It will be recalled that in the Saulteaux version the spirit powers are believed to rest upon the lateral hoops enclosing the vertical posts forming the conjuror's lodge (Hallowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51).

that their daughter was being sent to get his former family, and that he must leave her to go with them. Henceforth, she would have to manage alone. He told her of his struggle with the Wolves. Water Ousel accepted his decision without question. She realized that the Deer people differed from her own, and that it was better for Buck to return to his first family. Since he had agreed to help her, things would not be too difficult in the future.

Buck's daughter went up to the old lodge, removed the rock and started to sing. The boy came out and she led him some distance away. Previously, his mother had cautioned him not to run away, so that his sister might explain things to him. "You and she have the same father, and he has sent a message by her." So this time the boy did not run fast, in order that his sister might catch him. Now she was very happy. Buck had told her to give the rattles to the boy as a present, as they were intended more for boys than girls. He promised her a gift later from her mother. She handed the deer hooves to her brother, telling him that they belonged to Buck. She then offered to conduct both him and his mother to Buck. Fawn was very glad. He ran quickly to his mother and related what his sister had said. Doe prepared to leave, as she understood everything now. She was happy to be outside again, and to know that Buck had sent for her and their son. They set out and soon reached Bullhead's lodge, where they were joyfully greeted by Buck. Soon after, Buck, together with Doe and Fawn, left to resume their accustomed way of life. Water Ousel and her daughter remained with Bullhead. Before leaving them, Buck told his daughter not to grieve over their departure. He promised that each year, in the summer, Fawn, her brother, would come down to the stream to play with her.